/5 cont./

101 171 /footnote 2 continued/ 1936, p. 174. In the Mellah of Imintanout, an Israelite family from Ilutjan bore in Seksawa the curious name of Elkeslasi, pronounced Lkslasi, a name close to that of the place called Amskslan in Mtugga-Ud Bessebâc.

What is remarkable is not that Jews bear the same name as a Berbère /Berber/ group. It is, on the one hand, that the singular ethnic had been lost by the ones concerned themselves, and, on the other hand, and above all, that the name of the Seksawa is isolated in the anthroponymy of Maghrebi groups (3).

3. One should compare it, for example, to the veritable cluster of similar names that the ensemble furnishes: Mtugga, a. Atig, Tigguga, Tuggana, etc. Among the old names of the Mussulman Occident, however, one finds Sakâsik, Saksâkf. A legendary ancestor of the Berbères was so named. Ibn H'azm, Jamhara, Lévi-Provençal ed., p. 462, l. 21. It is again found designated as an ancestor of the Howwâra by Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères, 1925, t. I, pp. 170, 185, 273. Cf. ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, 1520, p. 108 y, l. 11. That would point toward /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a root S. K., with redoubling. But one can also think of a root S. W., where the redoubling would have differentiated the second element. This hypothesis would draw, not likelihood, but some support from a coincidence of sounds: that of Iseksawan and of Ichefchawan, that is to say, Chîchâwa. One knows that it is a matter of the same watercourse, or of the same system of irrigation, the one below the other, and that the extension of

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/footnote 3 continued/ the Seksawa domain to the plain during the Middle Ages and up to Mérinide times offers a certain probability.

A. Basset wishes to indicate to me that it is not a linguistic impossibility that these two names, Iseksawan and (I)chefchawan, go back to a two-letter root with complete redoubling, and respective passage from w to k and from w to f. But he specifies that it would be necessary to be able to justify the presence of these different treatments in the desired word and at the desired place.

In a domain indeed far away, but one in which the curious linguistic changes /Fr. chassés-croisés/ of North Africa do not make the reminder so improbable, I mean among the Touareg /Tuareg/, one turns up, among the toponyms used in the sense of "valley, system of water points," a whole scale of forms where the imagination could find intermediate stages between Seksawa and Chîchâwa: Sessau, Aseksam, Segga, Ichaffen, Chawa. P. de Foucauld, Dictionnaire abrégé touareg-français des noms propres /Abridged French-Tuareg dictionary of proper names/, A. Basset ed., 1940, pp. 18, 19, 239, 244, 251. Let us also note the existence of Chuchawa in the Ouarsenis, and also, of course, the existence of a Chefchawen in the Jebâla.

For E. Laoust, Seksawa could amount to the factitive of a root k. s., "to graze." But "no document, outside of the examination of the form of the ethnic, bears out such a conclusion," op. laud., p. 148. I shall point out, nevertheless, the existence of residual populations in the same domain whose name could go back to this same root: Ikessan, a. Tiksit, a. Gasa even. One thinks also of the Wâd

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/footnote 3 continued/ Siksû of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas.

M. L. Galand writes me: "In sg. Iseksiwi, pl. Iseksawan, the opposition of the singular to the plural belongs to a type known in Berbère /Berber/; the w would appear here as a radical element. In sg. Agdem (also Igedm), pl. Igedmiwen, is one dealing with a radical w that would have been lost in the singular, as in ameksa / imeksawan (cf. also inebgi / inebgiwen)? This hypothesis finds no support in the present forms of the name; Agdem, without a final vowel, corresponds poorly to the preceding examples, and particularly for the feminine, generally more conservative, I was given only Tagdemt as opposed to tameksawt (cf. also tinebgiwt). While waiting for more extensive research, I hesitate to see, therefore, in the w of Igedmiwen anything other than a suffixal element.

"Consequently the difference of structure that separates Iseksawan from Igedmiwen renders suspect the too-neat parallelism of the Arabic forms Saksîwa and Gadmîwa. The plural of the names of tribes is used more than the singular; it is what a foreigner learns first; have the Arabs felt that in Gadmîwa they were including a suffix and that in Saksîwa, perhaps under the influence of Gadmîwa, Damsîra, etc., they were mistreating the Berbère /Berber/ vocalism that they had respected in Saksâwa? One could question it."

/6/ First Co-ordinates of the Country

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[101] A certain country, that is what in the end the name of Seksawa suggests, as much by the etymology as in the common usage. The essential thing for this country is and has always been, according to a mountain law that is read, for example, in the historical compartmentalization of the Pyrenees, the basin of

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

/42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the riverbed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

361 /283 cont./Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of 2,000 m., at mid-slope of the Tabgurt, and called "the conjoint areas," Inraren Z'dinin. It is a place of periodic assemblies for the election of chiefs, or meetings preliminary to military expeditions. Forum and bivouac. One notes there a small hypaethral sanctuary, simple circle of stones, dedicated to a Lalla Âzzo, given as the daughter of Sidi Âmer u H'addo, of the issue of the Seksawa kings. At the entrance to the village itself Sidi Sliman u Âmer is buried, to whom is dedicated in the summer a small celebration, in decline elsewhere. The latter is also a historic personage, like H'addo u Âmer, king of the fourteenth century. One cannot fail to be struck by the homonymy between this Lalla Âzzo, of the old royal cycle, and Lalla Aziza, with whom she is identified by some. The name of Aziza, moreover anormal in Chleuh /Shluh/, is still unusual today. The popular language, notably in the choruses, changes it to Âzzt. If it should be identified with the names of Âzzô or Âzzûna, it would perhaps be a matter of the same personage at Z'init' and at Inraren Z'dinin. Then, the existence of an appanage of the saint at Anchkrir, the only village where she has one, would pose the problem of the bond between her cycle and that of the medieval kings. Undoubtedly that is the key to the history of the Seksawa. But how to explain the present site of the sanctuary? Might it result from a displacement of the more modest sepulcher of the higher place? Or would there have been two tombs? We shall probably never know.

The name of Z'init' is curious. It is explained locally by an imperative, with an archaic ending in -it, from the verb z'z'in, "to quarrel, to dispute." The rite confers a certain likelihood to this interpretation. Or else z'z'in-i-t would be a third person of the plural, followed by a preposition and a pronoun. That is, in sum: "are you quarreling" or "one is quarreling for him." All of that, naturally, is pun. There are two "quarrels" in the liturgy of the saint: a legendary pursuit around her body, according to a current hagiological theme; and the blows lavished at the sacrifice of the Mûlûd.

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[171] /329 cont./ theology. The ensemble forms an eloquent, seductive, affable, conquering whole, quite in the Arab manner.

Nothing of the sort in the Seksawa society. The acts, arraten, rrusûm, laçl, constitute there the legitimating base and the ultimate recourse of all possession. The writing bears its force in itself, as worthless, as much a "scrap of paper" as it may appear. Perhaps because it extends the force of such individual attitudes: one has seen this in the case of the istir^{c}â'. But moreover and especially because of its nature as writing. The verbal noun ara, "to write," is attested with the sense of "charm, talisman" in several dialects (1).

1. A Basset, "Six notes de linguistique berbère /Six notes on Berber linguistics/," Ann. I. E. O., t. 5, 1939-41, pp. 16 sq., denies the nevertheless tempting relation between ara, "to write," and tiuri, "curse."

[789] [875] [794] The rural scribe, t't'aleb or lfqih, still today concurrently cultivates notarial activity and magical competence, at the same time that he exercises a municipal religious function, that of imam and schoolmaster. This characteristic pluralism has lasted up to our day. It reveals a confusion fraught with lessons between different orders of things that we would readily classify in strongly contrasted categories: official cult, communal organization, education of the children, notariate, more or less clandestine [197] practice of magic. If one adds that Arabic, language of all these acts, has always kept in a certain measure the value of initiatory language and professional speech, one will measure the force that resides in these writings generously prodigalized today by the parties in the course of their litigations. Without exaggeration, one can estimate that, beyond its value as preconstituted proof, it is the act in itself that has an effect most often, ex opere operato, to speak like our Middle Ages.

The very material of the title counts at least as much as its content. In proof, sometimes, of the perfect vacuity of the latter.

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177 This is not the place here to investigate the ethical consequences
186 of the fact. Let us simply note the verification that it brings to bear, by the consciousness and the very avowal of the subject, on the dependencies disclosed by the analysis in the life of the most remote cantons. Now this genius does not give way for all that. There will therefore be controversy between adhesion to others and the nostalgia of oneself. Its determination by the outside becomes, according to the case, transcendence from the outside or rebellion from the inside.

It is naturally on the level of expression that /444/ compromise is realized most. Whence it happens that these people express themselves little and poorly. Whence it happens that all social or personal life feels the effects of a discord between different layers of psychology. Also, in many cases, the group as well as the individual will have the feeling of again seizing their identity only in excess, violence. Whence these impulsive fits of a patient and devout race: heresy, with which it peoples the "dark centuries," and, at all times, a millenarianism fertile in bursts. While waiting for other modes of expression...

The Maghreb, Continuous Tissue

177 Parallel to the Dir, in the region of Imintanout, runs the boundary between the Chleuh /Shluh/ and the Arab. It is also, at least today, a boundary between tribes and ways of life. It is not an ethnological boundary. A detailed analysis would show that there is no exact coincidence between the different orders of facts (1).

• [177]

1. The patient inquiries of A. Basset reveal on this subject surprising reciprocal relations. The word asnus in the sense of "young ass" is employed in Morocco only in the zone not reached by Romanity. Lexicographical variants that go back to Moroccan events appear in the bend of

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• [197]

/444 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ the Niger, cf. "La langue berbère au Sahara /The Berber language in the Sahara/," Cahiers Ch. de Foucauld, 1948. p. 12.

171 In the juridical matter itself -- and it is this that most obeys the group compartmentalization -- there exist throughout the Maghreb curious coincidences between a so-called "bédouine" /Bedouin/ practice and certain so-called "berbères" /Berber/ practices. Finally, various traits have led us to think, especially apropos matrimonial customs, that Fès /Fez/, capital of the fiqh, is such also, in certain respects, for a singularly tenacious customary law. These disconnected indications do not aspire to give proof, which one is not in a position to do for the moment. They simply seek to cast doubt upon simplistic classifications. Our knowledge of North Africa is not yet profound enough to reach basic elements: Arab, Berbère, or others. That is perhaps the ossature, and the ossature of the living being is not touched. We have not come to the study of a skeleton, or even to discerning a physiology whose functions for the most part still escape us, or are driven back by evolution into an inaccessible past. The only thing that is offered us is a living tissue. But this tissue is without break.

171 177 It would certainly be paradoxical to deny the personality of vast and strong zones such as this Chleuh /Shluh/ world, whose persistent originality everything attests to. But if, at the very center of this world, in the /445/ most rugged mountains, in a milieu whose particularism bursts forth, analysis encounters such a dependency upon the exterior, what will it be for milieus more accessible or more inviting! Still on this point, a lesson of geographical and historical continuity becomes clear from the Seksawa type. Allowance once made -- it must be great -- for the laws peculiar to the Chleuh /Shluh/ world: a certain sort of morcellation and of unity, the confused reference to external and internal symbols --, this lesson can be understood for the entire Maghreb. Homogeneous, for one sees the same themes circulate

/448 cont./

12/ the interpretation of the group by itself. It is in this that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ are most opposed to the other Berberophones of
184 North Africa, Mozabites excepted. Internal cohesion, triumphing over disparities or utilizing them, thoughtful evolution, tactic with regard to the outside and reform from within: that places their system upon an entirely different level of personality than those of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ or of Kabylia (1).

1. And that provides us with a principle of classification of the various systems more sure, we believe, than the one that the late Marcy drew from a criterion of decreasing "primitivité."

I come now to an even more striking characteristic: the prodigious variety of the societies of the Atlas and of the Sous. The
[197] speech changes from valley to valley, and not only the speech, but the words, each independently of the others. What is true of the language is true of the law, rites, folklore. From canton to canton the style of life, spirit, even the physiognomies change. As the space grows smaller, the nuance becomes aggravated. The exiguity of the groups, the minutiae of local subdivisions are compensated by the density of characters. This density acts upon the landscape itself. The ground is divided into quarters, just as the group is into ikhs-s. Techniques of work and toponymy conspire in extraordinary accords with a humanity of sampling. This is in-
[191] deed far from the alleged undifferentiation, from the so-called "mechanical" juxtaposition between similar social segments that some have found in Kabylia (2).

2. R. Maunier, Essais sur les groupements sociaux /Essays on the social groupings/, 1929, p. 24. Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine /Miscellaneous works on North African sociology/, 1930, pp. 64 sq. This part of the analyses by R. Maunier is very schematic.

/4 cont./

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101 stands out against the uniformity of the subdued country. It is in this way that great political regions, which we can distinguish in our day, have appeared: the country of the sedentary peoples of the Rif and of the Ghomara, on the shores of the Mediterranean, to the north of the valleys of the Ouergha and the Sebou and of the route of passage from Taza to Tlemcen; the land of the seminomadic Senhaja and of the Zenata, which covers the Saharan confines of the Dra, of the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/, and of the Haut- /5/ Guir, the Atlas Central and the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/; finally, that of the sedentary Masmouda and Senhaja, established in the western Atlas, the valley of the Sous wadi, and the Anti-Atlas (1).

• [197]

1. Each of these three zones corresponds to one of the three linguistic divisions of the Berbère /Berber/ country. The first takes the name of "groupe rifain" /Riffian group/ (Arabic modes of speech of the Jbala /Jebala/ and Berbère ones of the Ghomara, Senhaja, and Zenata); the second forms the "Beraber" group (Aït ʿAtta, Aït Seghrouchen /Serruchen/, Zayan, Zemmour /Zemur/, Beni Mtir, Beni Mgild); the third is the domain of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ (modes of speech of the group of the Tachelhait /Tashelhit/).

On the border of the Sahara, outside the semicircle formed by the Atlas, there are in addition nomadic tribes, Arab for the most part, which have at intervals become mixed up in the existence of the Empire by crossing the great passes in order to spread into the Atlantic plains. But while they entered these interior regions in the service of the great dynasties, at the boundaries of the desert they preserved a liberty that permits regarding them as elements foreign to the life of the far Maghreb.

/8 cont./

101 133 land peopled by Masmouda, to the West of the passes of the Glawa, from the one that, more to the East, as far as the passes of the Izoughar, is inhabited by the sedentary Senhaja established for long centuries around the summit of the Ighil Mgoun /Ighil M'Goun/. Besides, the modes of speech of the latter [197] differ somewhat from the "tachelhaît" /Tashelhit/ of the Sous and already present some characteristics of transition with those of the seminomads of the Beraber group. If, on the contrary, one stuck to the conditions of existence and to the way of life, the passages of the Izoughar, in the vicinity of the land of the transhumants, should serve us as boundary.

The vagueness of the Sous boundaries is the same in the cultivated valley of the Dadès, which is connected by a continuous series of gardens to the one of the Haut-Dra /upper Dra/ and, like it, forms a kind of melting pot where the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the North and of the West come to merge with the seminomads of the steppes of the South and of the East. One can acknowledge that this line of gardens, 250 kilometers long and scarcely a few hundred meters wide, constitutes at the same time a transition country and a boundary, beyond which one enters the land of the Saghro on the territory of the Ait ʿAtta, brothers of the Ait Yafelman montagnards of the central Atlas and of the Zayan.

121 101 /9/ Circumstances did not allow us to pursue our investigations in the mountainous region of the Ighil Mgoun as far as the passes of the Izoughar. Accordingly, although the populations that inhabit it have experienced an evolution similar to that of the Atlas Occidental, and we believe one can explain by the same rules the different transformation of their political life, we shall limit ourselves to including in the number of the mountain tribes of the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group those that belong to the Masmouda family and whose territory extends from the Atlantic up to the Tizi n Fedghat, which connects the land of the Skourra with Demnat /Demnate/ a little to the east of the pass of Telwet. [131] Thus the Sous includes all the mountain territories of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, Anti-Atlas, and Sirwa between the Dra and the Ocean, as well as the interior plain that is enclaved there.

/51 cont./

789 deliver to men their treasures hidden in the ground and their prodigious riches (1).

[113]

1. Doutté, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord /Magic and Religion in North Africa/, Algiers, 1909, pp. 220-306.

789 In this way magic allows itself to be penetrated little by
791 little by religious influences. Consequently it can be said, if one excepts a few practices whose importance is manifest especially in domestic and family life, that in the Sous the cloak of Islam almost completely covers the survivals from the time of "jahiliya" -- of pagan ignorance. There is no ceremony,
[782] initiation, rejoicing, war council, peace treaty, discussion for the choice of a leader which does not begin and end with an invocation to God, to his Prophet, and to one of the two great saints of the Sous: Moulay Brahim of the Kik, on the frontier of the North of Berbère /Berber/ country, and Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, patron of travelers and head of the family of the kings of the Gezzoula.

•197 XII. The intellectual life. -- Islamization did not entail the decline of the Berbère /Berber/ language, whose vitality does not cease to manifest itself and which continues to express the particular genius of the inhabitants of the Sous. The Arab tribes themselves, settled in the central valley, understand the speech of the montagnards, and the small groups of the descendants of the Maᶜqil of the Sahara, who come to settle in the plain of the Chtouka and the Haha, soon forget their Bedouin dialect in order to adopt the one of the country. Arabic, however, is understood by the traders, the agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and all those, whose number is increasing today, whom temporary emigration /52/ carries into the tribes and towns of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[554] But it is not rare still to find old scholars, of repute in the know-
[212] ledge of religion and law, who read the language of the Koran

/52 cont./

197 easily and yet, for expressing themselves, are incapable of using
[554] the Arab ways of speaking employed in all the rest of the Empire
[212] by the true subjects of the Sultan.

Moreover, the struggle goes on without truce between the two languages, Arabic and Berbère /Berber/. In that duel the former presents the advantage of being the vehicle of a universal civilization and of lending itself to the expression of religious or political thought. The latter holds so closely to the popular spirit and by such strong ties that long centuries have not yet been able to succeed in destroying it.

It is necessary to ask the study of this Berbère /Berber/ language, still so alive in the Sous, to make us acquainted with the essential aspects of the humble primitive civilization of the tribes. Thus the archaism of the grammatical forms suggests to linguists valuable comparisons with the state of the Indo-European languages in the most remote times that we can reach and bears witness to the obstinate spirit of conservatism and tradition that the study of the rites and beliefs also makes so evident. The
[192] incapacity for abstraction is shown by the use of a concrete vocabulary even in expressing feelings. Thus courage is expressed by "tasa" (the liver), warlike ambition by "ifadden" (the knees) (1).

1. The knees are used by the horseman to keep himself in the saddle; the leader is compared to the horseman, the subject tribe to the horse.

192 At the same time, the aptitude, so characteristic of Berbérie /Barbary/, for borrowing from foreign civilizations is manifest in the introduction of the newest words: mandate, bank, automobile have already taken their places in the vocabulary of the Chleuhs /Shluh/.

538 Finally, nothing gives the measure of the virtues and faults of the race better than the art of the poets and storytellers. Incapable of singing epics, whose composition would go beyond their

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 invasions have mixed the Berber populations to the point that the former names are little remembered, and where they do occur it is usually as the name of a tribe, such as the long-Arabized Zenata of Fedala (302). The modern Berber divisions are definable by language – generally, but not completely, corresponding to dialect divisions within Berber – and by culture. The Shluh, derived from a mixture of Masmouda and Sanhaja, speak the dialect known as Tashilhait. The Berabers, who represent a mixture of Sanhaja, Zenata, and nomadic Arabs, speak Tamazight. The western tribes of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian group speak, or spoke, Tashilhait; the southern tribes, Tamazight; the eastern groups, Ruafa (also known as Zenatiya or Thazighth). Most of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian tribes now speak Arabic, some as their only language, but all still retain the rest of their culture. The Zenata east and southeast of the Rif also speak Ruafa, but are culturally distinguishable from the Riffians (*Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, 1954, pp. 20-21; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 110-111; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 44).

1. *Shluh*

101 161 The southern Berbers, the Shluh of the western High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas (see Figure 2) number approximately 3,000,000.
197 101 Their form of Berber, Tashilhait, is divided into three dialects: Shilha, spoken by the Shluh of the western High Atlas, the lower Sous River valley, and the region between the Anti-Atlas and the Saguia el Hamra; Es-Susi spoken on the upper Sous; and Drawa spoken by the Shluh of the southern slopes of the Anti-Atlas and High Atlas west and north of the Dra. Many of the Shluh of the plains and foothills bordering the mountains also speak Arabic, and Arabic-speaking tribes are found intermingled with Shluh tribes in the southern areas (Applegate, 1957; Basset, 1952, p. 2; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 156, 167, 171, 174, 763-764).

241 361 342 343 The Shluh are characteristically sedentary agriculturalists engaged in mixed farming and residing in permanent stone or pounded earth houses often tightly concentrated into small villages with fortified storehouses (tighremt or agadir).

[pp. 1-21 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

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two are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, and the last completely nomadic. The Arabic-speaking Oulad Jellal are completely nomadic. Some of the nomadic tribes, the Ida Oublal in particular, migrate great distances into the Sahara (Capot-Rey, 1942; Cauneille, 1950; Delaye, 1944; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 143-161; Flores Morales, 1946, pp. 87-111; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 171-175; Jannes, 1953, pp. 109-116; Joly, 1948a, pp. 90-96; 1948b; Madras, 1948, illust. between pp. 25-61; Montagne, 1930; Monteil, 1948; 1948b; Robichez, 1946, pp. 53-71; Thibert, 1948).

2. *Imazighen or Beraber*

000 The Berabers, numbering approximately 500,000, reside principally in the mountains of Central Morocco – the eastern High Atlas, their southern slopes, and the Middle Atlas. All speak the Taberberit dialect of Tamazight, while Arabic is a common second tongue among the southern pre-Saharan groups (Grandidier, 1934, Pl. 6; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 163-167).

The dominant feature of Beraber life is transhumance – a type of pastorialism characterized by the movement of livestock through successive seasonal pasturage. Unlike the sedentary Shluh, who must modify their agricultural base to make it conform to the requirements of a specific local environment, the Beraber turn the environmental differences of their country to their benefit, wintering their flocks or herds in the warm plains or steppes, moving them to the higher pastures in the mountains during the spring and summer, and retiring through new pasturage ahead of the descending snowline (Celerier, 1927, pp. 53-58; Joly, et al, 1949, pp. 83, 84-86).

Beraber transhumance has been classified into three distinct types – winter transhumance, summer transhumance, and double transhumance. The type practised by any particular tribe depends largely upon the location of its permanent residence. Winter transhumants own permanent houses (*taddart*) and collective granaries (*ighrem* or *tighremt*) which are located in the mountains, and most of the members therefore migrate with the herds to the winter pastures in the valley. Parts of the Ait Yafelmane confederation (428-

[pp. 27-43 not processed]